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硕士学位论文

联合国建设和平委员会: 帝国主义新的负担分担体制?

**UN Peacebuilding Commission: Imperialists' New
Burden Sharing Scheme?**

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摘要

本文旨在分析各种有关联合国建设和平框架（UN PBA），以澄清其特征和展望其未来。联合国众多建设和平框架支持者的一个合乎情理的担心，是联合国建设和平委员会（PBC），至今未成为一个建设和平的有效行为体。支持该观点的论据充分表明它未能成功应对继续困扰着支持和平建设的国际力量的挑战。

本文认为，由PBC主导的联合国建设和平框架，尽管是联合国的一个新建机构，却似乎呈现出现代化理论中所假定的行为，研究表明，PBC对于和平建设这一理念的界定，既宽泛又含糊不清。对于北方国家（发达国家）而言，它意味着发展、安全、组织选举或建设电力网络；但对于南方国家（发展中国家），它却仅限于为获得真正意义上的和平进行谈判。

首先，本文分析了联合国建设和平框架、帝国主义以及和平建设的相关论述，提出一个“负担共享体制”新概念，对上述关键问题及其在非洲错综交织的表现方式进行了评估。同时，文章从表述和平建设这一概念的源起入手，分阶段阐释其内涵来理解其现状。

其次，本文探究联合国建设和平委员会（PBC）、建设和平支助办公室（PBSO）以及建设和平基金（PBF）等联合国建设和平框架的创建过程，概述其在试点国家所取得的成就。研究表明，鉴于委员会议程中包含的所有四个国家目前接受基金的状况，PBC在帮助为那些饱受重创的人群，提供即时和平福利的速效项目，获得资源等方面具有重要价值。

最后，针对PBC的批评者们所声称的帝国主义行径的主张及其定位的假设，笔者提出了自己的批判：确凿的证据表明，PBC和PBSO皆为先验既存国家利益的产物，这导致和平建设成为一个特定的政治机制。本文担忧的是，PBC仅仅专注于融资的状况，难免使其沦为另一个殖民者的捐助者论坛。（文中将“负担共享体制”称作“捐助者论坛”）。

关键词：联合国建设和平框架；帝国主义；“负担共享体制”

Abstract

This paper analyzes debates amid contestations about the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture (UN PBA) in order to clarify its character and future. The paper finds as legitimate, a concern among the many supporters of the UN PBA that the PBC has yet to become an effective player in peacebuilding. Arguments to support that it has fallen short of addressing the challenges that continue to beset international support for peacebuilding are well articulated. The paper argues that despite being a new United Nations' (UN) organ, the Peacebuilding Architecture (PBA) led by the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) seems to display behaviours that are assumed in the modernization theory. Firstly, this paper analyses the PBA, Imperialism and Peacebuilding discourses and formally introduces a new 'burden sharing scheme' concept, formulated by this paper, as some of its key arguments. It also assesses the above-mentioned key issues and how they play out together in Africa. The paper starts by describing peacebuilding as presented by its promoters starting with the origins of this concept and following them through various phases to the way they are perceived today. It finds out that the PBC has a broad and vague approach to the concept of peacebuilding. According to the North Countries (developed) it can mean development, security, organizing elections or building electricity networks while to the South Countries it means nothing but negotiating for peace in the real sense of the word. It then looks into the creation of the PBA: Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) and Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), outlining its main achievements in focus countries. It reveals that the PBC has added value in securing resources for quick impact projects that have been important in delivering to traumatised populations some immediate dividends of peace as all four countries on the Commission's agenda have so far received funding. This is followed by the paper's own critical assessment of the contestations of Imperialism behaviours as purported by the PBC's detractors and assumes its positions on the same in Chapters 3 & 4. It proves through valid arguments that the PBC and the PBSO are products of *a priori* existing and fixed national interests thus making peacebuilding a very specific and political enterprise. It is the worry of this paper that the PBC focuses exclusively on financing and the fear of this author is that the PBC has just become another donor forum ('burden sharing scheme' as this paper prefers to call it) by former colonisers.

Key words: Peacebuilding Commission; Imperialism; Burden Sharing Scheme

List of Abbreviations

AU	African Union
BCPR	Bureau for Conflict Prevention and Recovery
CAR	Central African Republic
CSM	Country-specific Meetings
DPA	Department of Political Affairs
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GA	General Assembly
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IO	International Organization
IPBS	Integrated Peacebuilding Strategy
IR	International Relations
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OC	Organizational Committee
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.
PBA	Peacebuilding Architecture
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission
PBF	Peacebuilding Fund

PBSO	Peacebuilding Support Office
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SC	Security Council
SG	Secretary-General
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WC	Washington Consensus

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background

The Report on Conflicts, Human Rights and Peacebuilding Yearbook 2010¹ reveals that the year 2009 ended with 29-armed conflicts in the world. Twelve of them intensified during the year and in only eight of them was there a reduction in hostilities, while the rest did not show any change at all. The numbers of both conflicts and those who died in these conflicts remain high; 310,000 people died in armed conflicts that year². However, the actual number of conflicts has been reduced significantly since the end of the cold war.³ Bearing some element of truth, many post-conflict countries either fall back into violence or fail to attain sustainable peace. Attesting to this, the Yearbook 2010 records the 75 situations of tension in the world, which might become the armed conflicts of tomorrow. Reduction of these occurrences and the eventual elimination altogether of violent conflict endeavours to actualise what has up to the present been unrealizable -peace.

In light of this, the last two decades witnessed the subtle emergence of a discourse for the creation of a culture of peace in response to the above stated concerns. International peacebuilding in conflict-prone and post-conflict societies has developed rapidly in recent years. This is in terms of the range of activities conducted, the number of operations deployed, and the number and variety of international actors involved in these missions. It covers areas of security, development, humanitarian assistance, governance and the rule of law. It gives a clear relationship between global security and the lack of economic and social investment.

It started off with the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) when it commenced its culture of peace programme in 1992 to encourage discussion and action for nurturing the cultural occurrences of non-violent resolution. An alliance between a culture of peace and peace-building mandates is for the purposes of creating non-violence in interactions in intra-state communities previously affected by war.

¹ See report at [http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/ASAZ-87ZBFG/\\$file/SCP_Jan2010.pdf?openelement](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/ASAZ-87ZBFG/$file/SCP_Jan2010.pdf?openelement)

² Ibid

³ Human Security Centre, University of British Columbia, Human Security Report, 2005, War and Peace in the 21st Century as accessed on September 30, 2010 from <http://www.ligi.ubc.ca/?p2=/modules/liu/publications/view.jsp&id=2067>

However, many academics, politicians and field workers have been skeptical about whether conflict resolution is possible. It is sometimes argued that today's attempts are both extremely ineffective and destabilising. In almost all previous and on-going peacebuilding operations, many players within and outside United Nations (UN), each pursuing different and at times conflicting goals and interests, have been involved and as a result the coordination and integration of peacebuilding activities remain a serious challenge.

In extreme circumstances, this exacerbated the risks of reversals, setbacks and failures in peacebuilding missions. The UN also acknowledged publicly that it regularly failed to prevent such recurrences and to establish functioning, responsive and inclusive political institutions in war-torn societies.⁴ It further acknowledged that the short timeframes, limited mandates, financial and personnel resources, and equipment provided by these many players often tended to grossly underestimate what was required to achieve durable peace and development. While all international actors tend to subscribe to the broad goals of transforming war economies into liberal market democracies, there is no universal agreement on what is required to achieve this goal, or how to achieve it under different circumstances.

This combination of analyses has provided the momentum behind the development of peacebuilding as a field in its own right and the creation of new United Nations international peacebuilding architecture; United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture⁵ (*See chapter 2 for in-depth*), which this paper seeks to extrapolate from the 2005 resolutions that led to its formulation.

1.2 Literature Review

This literature review is divided into empirical research and theoretical framework. This portion of the study will commence with a brief normative analysis of the origin of peace-building; the literature on the peacebuilding enterprise, what imperialism⁶ or colonialism are and how they came to be associated with peacebuilding and then lastly the UN PBA principally the activities and the issues surrounding it.

⁴ See UN Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations. UN doc. A/55/305 – S/2000/809. 21 August 2000: Executive Summary. From http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/docs/full_report.htm

⁵ With the UN peacebuilding architecture I mean the PBC, the PBSO and the PBF. The architecture is centered around the PBC and therefore the Peacebuilding Commission receives most of the attention in this thesis when compared to the PBSO and the PBF.

⁶ I use the terms colonialism and imperialism interchangeably, referring to a relationship of domination of one set of people over another and where the domination crosses recognised boundaries, nationalities, and/or sovereign territories

It is difficult to begin to study the progress of the PBC without informing oneself of what peacebuilding really is about. This thrashes out the issues involved in why it exists. Reviewing all those works which are useful to understanding not only the PBC but peacebuilding issues generally and how other writers think of the PBC and the concept of peacebuilding, such as its current success, failures and prospects, is important. Literary works concerned with Africa and or those PBC focus countries are also important. These are more context-specific and clarify the focus, and situation in relation to the rest of the world. It shows how concepts borrowed from elsewhere such as the notion of 'peacebuilding' find expression in the African jurisdiction.

1.2.1 Origins of Peacebuilding

"Peacebuilding is a complex and multifaceted undertaking. It requires significant amounts of human, financial and institutional resources," Mr. Ban⁷ –United Nation Secretary General

The term "peacebuilding" has dominated the discourse in recent years but has been around since the early 1990s and is part of today's communities' response to conflicts.⁸ The term peacebuilding was coined in 1992 by ex-UN Secretary- General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in *An Agenda for Peace* instrument. He defined it as: "action to identify and support structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict".⁹ This was meant to propose responsibilities and responses for the UN and the international community.

Peacebuilding as a concept is explained and expressed in different forms to date. Sollenberg (2000) posits that Peace-building aims at durable peace. He sees this concept as the restoration and maintenance of civil society,¹⁰ law and order, human rights promotion and protection, arrangements for refugees and displaced persons, the holding of elections, re-establishment of local administrations and government utilities, de-mining, and reconstruction and development. In his context, peace building will never end as long as lives and resources are being rescued and saved. This emanates from the fact that each context in which peacebuilding activities are

⁷ Mr. Ban noted in his remarks to the Security Council's debate on post-conflict peacebuilding. Accessed from <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=34393&Cr=peacebuilding&Cr1=>

⁸ I use the terms conflict and war interchangeably, referring to organised violence involving a minimum annual cost of 1 000 deaths.

⁹ See UN, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping* (New York: United Nations, 1992), para.21 from <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html>

¹⁰ The term civil society is invoked from this point forward to refer to the non-military citizenry of a community

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